



Restructuring And Resistance

With this issue of Arm The Spirit we have focussed on the economic restructuring that is taking place across the planet. More specifically we have decided to cover the resistance to this restructuring that is taking place in Europe.

Since the early 80's the European Economic Community (EEC) has been in a process of consolidating European capital into one massive bloc. At the same time rapidly deteriorating conditions in the so-called "socialist" (read state capitalist) Eastern Bloc countries lead to collapse of their bureaucratic regimes. From there they began the shift from state capitalism to a market economy with East Germany being incorporated into West Germany forming the single largest economic bloc within the EEC. Bearing the brunt of this has been the East German proletariat who are facing massive unemployment, a chronic housing shortage and a grave decline in social services. For the most part the radical-left movements in West Germany have reacted slowly to these developments and at the same time fascist and neo-nazi movements have dramatically increased in size and numbers.

On a European-wide scale this consolidation of capital is manifesting itself in a number of ways. One is the Schengen agreement. This agreement, conceived by various European countries, has been constructed to control and restrict refugee and immigrant movement in to Europe. While the EEC heralds the upcoming unification in '92 as an opening up of borders, in reality it means the closing of borders for Third World people. At the same time attacks on Third World people, living in Europe, by fascists is on the rise.

We have included in this issue of Arm The Spirit a number of documents from some of the guerrilla groups active in Europe. In particular we have communiques from the various German clandestine groups who have been active against restructuring in "Greater Germany". As well we have documents concerning the repression against the Red Army Faction prisoners who are facing a renewed state campaign aimed at breaking them. Finally we have a letter from an Italian political prisoner who offers her perspective on the international economic restructuring and what that means for revolutionary movements here in the metropolises. We see this as an important part of a discussion and debate that is ongoing in the various revolutionary movements that we wish to contribute to. For us that means receiving responses to the work that we are attempting to do. Other initiatives such as Clash in Europe and Resistance here in Canada are attempting to do the same and we feel that in order to be able to effectively contribute to these discussions there needs to be wider participation from the various movements here in North America. In particular we actively seek the input of the political prisoners and prisoners of war. On that note we hope for and await your responses.



Angry East Germans confront Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the city of Halle.

Statement Concerning The Attack On Hanno Klein

The following is a communique which originally appeared in the Berlin autonomist paper INTERIM. It concerns the fatal letter-bomb attack on Hanno Klein which took place in June of this year. Hanno Klein was a notoriously reactionary high-ranking official in the Berlin Senate's planning commission who was in charge of drafting plans to gentrify and sanitize Berlin in time to make it an attractive site for the Olympic Games in the year 2000.

The fatal attack on Klein was both significant and controversial. For one thing, it was the work of an as yet unidentified group, and with the exception of RAF executions, fatalities are rare in attacks from the German left. Also, it was the first time (to our knowledge) that a letter-bomb device had been used in Germany. We expect that the attack aroused some controversy in Germany's radical-left scene, and we at ATS hope to follow the debate in future issues.

Thankfully, Klein's central role in the restructuring process underway in Berlin's inner-city has been documented in the press. Klein - a brutal, arrogant bureaucrat - organized the driving out of residents of Kiez from their neighborhoods.

Although Klein's death was not the original intention of the action, since we only meant to inflict non-fatal physical harm, his death stands in realistic proportion to the violent scale of the present restructurings process, the ruling power's comprehensive grasp over the proletarian population, especially women and immigrants. Along side the systematic liquidation of economic structures in the former-DDR, this process represents his attempt to transform the inner-city according to guide-

lines set by national and international Capital, and also the gentrification associated with the city's new status as the nation's capital. The goal: the city center is to be for the rich, while marginalized people are shuffled off to cement ghettos on the city's edge. Those responsible for all of this are unmoved by the sufferings of those being displaced. Resistance to these plans, as was evidenced in the Mainzerstrasse evictions, is beaten nearly to death with tactics resembling civil war. Consider the pleasure the ruling powers take in the sorrow of displaced persons, how much does the death of the restructuring official Klein really matter?

We had to respond to the war being waged by city planners, speculators, and the politicians against us, the inhabitants of Kiez, a war which has to be seen in the context of the restructuring of Berlin to be the command center for the imperialist powers' plan to economically exploit the peoples of Eastern Europe. Those pigs have lost their right to remain undisturbed physically, although formerly the resistance had as its aim to avoid, as much as possible, inflicting harm upon them. Those pushing the restructuring forward will have to reckon with this uncalculable risk factor - we have to adopt a variety of action methods in building up a proletarian resistance movement which is rooted in the neighbourhoods. Considering the context, the parliament's imminent approval of the location of the nation's capital and the sheer brutality of class pressure being applied from those above, we maintain that the attack on Klein, despite what was for us an unexpectedly hefty result, and despite the present weakness of revolutionaries, was appropriate. To counter the negative press campaign: a

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After A Long Silence...

An Interview With RARA

Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (RARA) is a clandestine group active in the Netherlands that has carried out attacks in support of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The main targets of these attacks have been multi-national corporations that have ties or are integral parts of the apartheid structure. More recently they shifted their attention to the racist refugee and immigration policies of the Dutch government (as well as the rest of Europe) by attacking state agencies that are responsible for carrying out these policies.

Why the interview?

We have been rather silent for quite some time. But during that time, we have had a number of discussions about current political perspectives and the changing situation in the world and in The Netherlands.

We were faced with the choice of communicating in our usual manner through communiques, or to find another format which would make it easier to get into these matters. We chose this format because it gives us an opportunity to discuss contemporary situations. At the same time it gives us a chance to go into more depth on issues which we find most important. The present situation is wretched. The radical/revolutionary debate is dulled, fragmented, and without orientation. This is especially true in the countries in the northern hemisphere. We find it important to add a contribution to the discussion and to open a dialogue with people who have not yet lost their will to fight, despite the fact that the end of history and the end of ideology have been proclaimed.

Why have things been quiet for so long?

There are several reasons for this, but the main one we'd like to mention is the fact that we needed some time to analyze what exactly has changed and to see what conclusions we should and shouldn't link to our praxis. When we speak of changes we mean the acute deepening of the crisis on the left, the lack of direction of the left, and the changing perspective.

In what sense has the perspective changed?

The 'victory' of capitalism over socialism seems

so overwhelming that many people in the North seem to have forgotten that capitalism itself is now in a period of crisis. Because despite all the praise being showered on the social-market economy, the contradictions are growing in the northern hemisphere. The explosive situation of the Black population in the US is more than a false note in this praise. Things which seemed almost at hand ten years ago are now mere topics of discussion. The content of leftist politics in particular has become totally watered down. In the seventies, the Left was still concerned with changing the entirety of social relationships, both nationally and internationally. Now the Left has retreated into "debating the big questions."

This is evident when one looks at Groen Links (the Green Left party - ed.) in The Netherlands, and even when one looks at Die Grünen in Germany. Leftist politics has become a vague mixture of social individualization with a little dab of life-style politics on top. The Left no longer has any vision with regard to international relations. In the seventies and eighties, a big concern was supporting the countries in the southern hemisphere in their fight to get an equitable distribution of welfare by means of the "new international economic order", and yet now everyone's behind the "new world order" of Bush and Co., especially given the way things lined up during the Gulf War. And people who are considered pretty well-thinking, such as Anet Bleich and Wolf Biermann, become the 'new experts' of international politics, seemingly overnight.

With the analytical capacity to barely distinguish a mouse from an elephant, they have reduced the entire (history of) the Gulf War to one question: for or against Israel?

But the crisis of the leftist perspective can't just be reduced to mistakes made by the Left. There are also external causes. Seemingly there exists a connection between increasing welfare and the extreme individualism of so many people. Saving the world is 'out', personal concerns are 'in'. Is there hunger in Africa? Well then, let's throw a benefit. Typhoon in Bangladesh? Where's my check-book...

Welfare and individualism lead to life-style politics. You're not a leftist because the world is unjust, rather you're liberal or progressive because you find it all a bit of a drag, poverty and hunger, and the plight of illegal aliens. The things you find depressing are fed to

you through the media and are determined by an issue or an event which is still a little bit worse than the event from the week before.

A world-view which consumes human suffering during a concert for the Kurds (or was it for Bangladesh?)...oh well, no matter, as long as my hair looked cool. Post-modern society is structured through a denial of what is real. The truth can't be found in the political market-place, because it's not a marketable product.

It is this psycho-social structure which makes people so soft. Because of the lightning-fast developments of the past few years, the crisis on the Left has been at the same time social and individual. Everyone knows someone who feels that they have fought, struggled, and sacrificed enough so that they can now end their political lives. And each successive political suicide eats away at your own motivation to keep on going.

The simultaneous occurrence of both the individual and the societal identity crisis within the Left is making it very difficult to catch sight of any possible solutions. Nevertheless we would like to stress that our motivation for going on is not only fed by the fact that we are paralyzed by existential indignation, or more simply put, 'there is more, folks!'

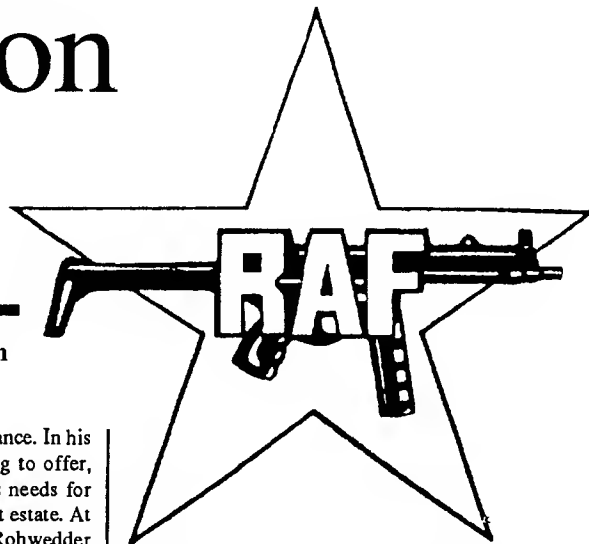
To say something worthwhile about all this, it would be handy for us to take a look around us. Already a few years ago we made a change in our political praxis. Initially, our struggle against racism and oppression was spearheaded by our attacks against apartheid policies. Gradually we began to focus on refugee politics in The Netherlands. From out of our history, this was a logical step.

Firstly, this is so because we think that a space for fundamental changes in the West itself needs to be fought for.

Secondly, because refugee politics is directly related to open, latent, and institutionalized racism. The migration strain in the North is not a result of the so-called parasitic conduct of economic refugees, unlike what many 'people' would have us believe. We reject that notion, because in the first place it is pure propaganda. It's primary purpose is to play on the average Dutchman's fear of having his wallet emptied. Labour migration has taken place for centuries, and it would be



Red Army Fraction Communique



She or he who doesn't fight dies little by little. Freedom is only possible through fighting for liberation.

On the first of April, 1991, we shot the president of the Berlin "Treuhandanstalt", Detlev Korsten Rohwedder, with the Ulrich Wessel Commando.

Rohwedder has been in key positions in politics and industry for 20 years. As Secretary of State for Economic Affairs in Bonn in the 70's he organized the basic conditions that West German capital needed for its profits all over the world. At that time, for example, he was directly involved in deals with the fascist South African regime where knowledge of how to build nuclear weapons was exchanged for uranium for West Germany's nuclear industry. During the time the nuclear program got pushed through he was a board member of the State's energy corporation and of various international committees. But he also searched for ways to facilitate the smooth running of countless shipments of weapons to fascist regimes in the Third World regimes. Even then he was one of those master-minds that ruthlessly plans the misery and death of millions of people in the interest of power and profit.

In the 80's, Rohwedder made a name for himself as a brutal rehabilitator when being in charge of the Hoesch-Group [a large German multinational - ed.] he threw out more than two-thirds of the workers and in a few years led the bankrupt company to new profits. For that he was elected "manager of the year" in 1983. Rohwedder's function as a governor of Bonn in East Berlin should have been the crown on his career. Since its annexation, East Germany has become a virtual colony of West Germany; the political, economic and military decisions are made in Bonn or by the West German corporations. That colony status is designed to be temporary because West Germany, to fulfill its aspirations of power, needs East Germany to become a functioning part of the global capitalist machine - because after all that is the main source of political power here, economic strength. Before putting capitalistic power into place, however, the reconstruction of the system must be organized according to capitalism's needs, over the heads of people that have lost their roots, and without any barriers left, the East German economy, as well as its social structures (from health care to day nurseries), are to be systematically dismantled.

That's the plan. And the Treuhandanstalt is to organize this destruction program.

However, the big corporations are not really interested in propping up the economy of the former East Germany. The few selected divisions of certain companies that have been bought until now are mainly meant to secure certain monopolies in particular industrial branches. Apart from the modernization of the country's infrastructure - ranging from the telephone network to energy production - the multi-nationals are simply splitting up the pieces of the cake and waiting for the Treuhandanstalt to finish its destructive work before they subsequently rebuild anything which they think might be profitable on the world market.

The government chose Rohwedder to accomplish all this, and they seemed to have picked out the right man

with the right amount of brutality and arrogance. In his eyes, the former East Germany had nothing to offer, from the start, that could have satisfied his needs for profits. To him it was nothing but a bankrupt estate. At a conference for businessmen in Vienna, Rohwedder remarked that "40 years of socialism in the former East Germany has caused more damage than the Second World War." Only a man who judges the world in terms of profits and productivity and for whom human lives don't count could say something like that.

The task of the Treuhandanstalt means more to people than just the loss of their jobs, the closure of factories, and the scheduling of reconstructing along lines of profitability. Also inherent in this process is the forced rule of international capitalism upon a people and their country. All social values are subsequently adjusted to its principles, resulting in nothing but material distress for millions of unemployed people, as well as impoverished hearts and minds.

It's important for capitalist strategists, such as Rohwedder used to be, to prepare conditions for an attack on the soul of the people, to arrange a thorough deformation of their personalities which isolates them from one another and which builds up seemingly indestructible walls between them. To Rohwedder, people in the ex-GDR were human beings who had "lost the normal dimensions of thought". That's why Kopper, the president of the Deutsche Bank and successor to Herrhausen [killed by RAF in Dec. '89 - ed.], must push through a "process of adaptation" in the minds of the population.

The free-market system apparently offers people a chance to create a secure place with the welfare state of Great Germany and become happy in the euphoria of consumption. In reality, the system is designed to make people deaf and dumb as it hunts for more victims. If something like this really exists, then it only exists for those who are prepared to unconditionally sell themselves off to a greater degree than others are in the competition for security and who are at the same time prepared to accept the fact that this prosperity is only possible because millions of people in the Three Continents [Africa, Asia, Latin America - ed.] have suffered for it with their sweat and blood. What matters to the system is raw labor, consumption, etc, not human beings, life, or nature.

The author R. Chemikau expresses the loneliness and emptiness of the lives of millions of people in the rich capitalist countries quite strikingly when he writes, "I don't know any more fitting definition of impoverishment than a mouse running in a wheel, wearing jeans and a walkman."

Those who want to subordinate themselves to capitalist principles have to accept a life in isolation. Isolation is the main precondition for manipulation and the main root of continued imperialist rule, because when people are isolated from one another, without communication, then they are far from being able to imagine themselves in a different reality and to conse-

quently doubt the merits of the established system.

The process of transforming the entire production system in the former East Germany to conform to the competitive standards of the world market is taking place in a much harsher manner than we in West Germany have ever experienced. Fewer and fewer people are working in increasingly high-tech production plants. One experience has been observed throughout Western Europe over the past decade: in the competition between men/women and machines, men/women have lost millions of jobs, never to be re-hired. This has been true in the FRG, meaning that at least 1/3 of the population has become almost useless to capitalism. These enormous amounts of people, who have either been kicked out of the workforce completely, or who are doing so-called unqualified jobs, have to make to keep quiet and to accept the misery and injustice, accepting capitalist values as laws of nature.

The system relies on people who have decided to wholeheartedly accept the system and who have consequently been placed in privileged positions in high-tech production or the services sector. They are the maggots in the meat, those who we call yuppies, whose perception of life does not go much past "born to shop". City development meets with their desires for luxury shops, yuppie bars, and unaffordable luxury apartments. The corrupt class of yuppies and bosses are the only ones who profit from this glossy shit which is being built up everywhere. For most of the humiliated and offended people this development represents the destruction of their way of life. They are to be deported to the suburbs, which are designed to isolate people from one another.

This destruction of communicative life-styles has been going on here for quite some time, and this process is now seriously threatening to over-run the East Germans, drowning them in isolation and individualization.

Since the annexation of East Germany, racist attacks against refugees and resident foreigners and sexist behaviour against women have increased and become increasingly open. Fascist groups have gained in strength, resulting in daily brutal attacks against foreigners, leftists, and women organized in feminist groups. Certainly one reason for the latter is that during the rule by the SED [East German Communist party - ed.], power, solidarity, and equal rights were decreed by the State. Of course many people never accepted this and were not reformed internally, since this equality was imposed from above; it was prescribed, never went very deep, and consequently was not supported by lots of people. On the other hand, it's impossible to conceive of a capitalist system without racism and the oppression of women. The notion of 'Germany: the one and only Fatherland' was and still is State policy, supported with a flood of nationalist propaganda. Nationalism is espe-

wrong to say that Europe has been opposed to it and has not needed it.

The authorities simply want to dictate which migrants can enter and which can't. Europe for the Europeans.

Refugees don't come here for the fun of it. They are fleeing poverty, war, (sexual) repression, and hunger. And each of these are political concerns which we want to work around. And coincidentally they represent what for us is an important element, namely, internationalism.

So do you all see the possibility or the necessity of militant politics? In other words, is militant resistance still legitimate?

We see legitimacy in militant politics because militant politics is a means of politicizing certain issues which can't be immediately recognized out of humanitarian concerns.

Just like others, we have analyzed the coming European Unity as a junction in developments, a junction which consequently must be confronted. But where we saw and still see little perspective is to direct our praxis "Against the Europe of Capital" [a slogan of the Dutch anti-Europe '92 campaign - ed.]. Not because we are for this, but because we realize all too well that you can't base a political praxis from political analyses alone.

You can't offer resistance to abstractions.

In other words, such a praxis could be counter-productive because then you tend to see resistance where it does not exist. We believe that alongside an analysis of current developments there must also be an analysis of political relationships, and from out of these two things you can choose your targets and formulate your praxis.

But who are you directing yourselves at then? Where do you see people who have an interest in bringing about radical changes? Who do you hope to mobilize with your actions?

We don't have a simple answer to that question. We could just as easily be asking you that question. If you mean, do we see a political movement where our actions have had or could have an effect, a movement which we could mobilize, then our answer at this time would be a cautious "No". But that is closely connected to subject which we have chosen. Unlike with the anti-apartheid struggle, refugees here don't have any powerful political lobby or solidarity movement. And likewise unlike with the anti-apartheid struggle, refugee politics can't be simply reduced to economic or political interest groups. The whole of refugee politics is couched in ideological terms. It vacillates between policy statements from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (which almost always state that nothing is wrong in our country) and bureaucratic officials whose only measure of the current refugee situation is the listing of criteria in their computers. But quite a lot is happening in this area and we think that this can, in principle, grow out into a powerful solidarity movement with political influence. The basis for this is present. The people at present concerned how The Netherlands handles refugees don't, for the most part, come from the 'know' movements, such as the squatters', anti-militarist, and anti-apartheid movements. Often it is people from church parishes, people who possess a genuine sense of concern and indignation. They also don't seem as caught up in the Left's identity crisis.

Our praxis isn't primarily concerned with winning these people over to a revolutionary perspective. Our praxis is an attempt and a struggle to regain some ideological ground. Right now, some very detailed societal measures (such as the implementation of the

Schengen Agreement with its consequences for, among others, refugees) are being silently enacted without any discussions of any importance. Through our praxis we hope to bring a halt to the giving up of ideological standpoints.

You all orient yourselves against the State. Do you see the State as 'all-powerful'? Isn't it rather the case that the State, society, and politics are so interwoven that it's impossible to attack the State alone?

Yes, that's the case if you analyze power sociologically. But we're not so concerned with giving an explanation of this phenomenon and how it has come about. We view that power of the State as a political circumstance. We don't see the State as a monolithic power-block, as people did in the seventies. Rather we see it as a centre of spheres of influences of political and economic interest groups which can at times be in conflict with one another. Just look at the conflict between Kosto and the Mulder Commission. Kosto doesn't want any statement of the rights of refugees. That would of course mean compliance with any European ruling and that could lead to a judicial strengthening of the position of refugees. Kosto wants a repressive refugee policy while Mulder has stuck with the more 'polite' orders given to him by Lubbers.

The conflict between the Council of State and the governing parties over the Schengen Agreement is another example.

But we don't orient ourselves against the State because of its 'power'. We orient ourselves against it because it is the most important tool in the hands of the political-economic elite. And certainly where refugees policies are concerned, the state is our biggest opponent.

Because the character of the State has changed, we are presented with some new opportunities. Precisely because of the fact that most people's perception of the State has changed presents the politicians within the State with big problems. One of these problems is that traditional forms of authority (including the State) have been seriously eroded. The State has to continually justify its directives and policies to the population. Truly, the State is in a permanent state of ideological crisis. That is the flip-side of welfare and individualism, authority has to justify and prove itself continually. Consequently, they often find themselves in a bind, and they have to try to claim that certain special-interest matters (such as European Unity) are in fact in the common interest.

That's why, if there is no reason to carry out a repressive refugee policy, then they have to create one. And there lies the vulnerability of the modern State. Matters such as policy and politics have become susceptible to market mechanisms. And if the State is on the defensive ideologically, then there is more 'space'.

But all of this does not mean that there aren't some

drawbacks to our focusing on the State. Although racism is such a comprehensive issue, we are merely able to take it on in one of its forms. But for the time being, that's how things have to be.

The last question, why haven't you all done anything about the Gulf War?

There is a difficult balance between rage and political rationality. We were hard at work and had gotten to quite an advanced stage. But if you work as we do, then you can't simply react spontaneously. Our manner of operations requires a long period of preparation time, time which the developments of the Gulf War did not give us. And what really settled things was the completely absurd reaction of the Left to this war. From the time the first Scuds landed on Israel, the Left in The Netherlands ceased thinking and became implicit in the ruling powers' Gulfomania and Arabophobia.

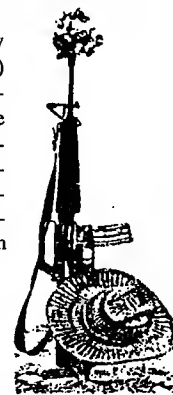
That, and the fact that so little resistance to the Gulf War was forthcoming from the Left, decided for us how we would go about things. It is just this sense of political rationality that forces you to examine the possible effect of your limited methods. You don't gain anything with an attack if the attack only inflicts material damage and has no political effect. And after the political demobilization of the Left with respect to the Gulf War, we saw insufficient means of having any political effect. Undoubtedly we would have had an effect if we had carried out our plans, but the question was, wouldn't we instead have effected a negative polarization, given the fact that the whole conflict was reduced to the issue of for or against Israel, and we had no desire to further this debate. Like we said earlier, our actions are designed to influence the political agenda. And among the preconditions for this is a continuity of praxis, to thematize about certain problems in a way which no one can ignore. That sounds like a separate goal, but it is the result of our analysis of contemporary political relations in The Netherlands. It is actually less defensive than it sounds, although there is a defensive side to it. We're concerned with keeping a finger on society's political pulse during this transition period from the Cold War to the New World Order and the formation of the European power-block and the continual depoliticization of societal questions in The Netherlands. At the present time, as this system is aggressively developing itself throughout the world and is becoming accepted as purely rational here in the North, we see our sort of militant resistance as dealing a blow to the ideological hegemony of the political and economic elite. And for the time being, that is our strategy.

Revolutionary
Anti
Racist
Action

Repression In Turkey And Kurdistan

On July 10/11th, as part of the Ozal government's continued program of repression against the Kurdish people, the Turkish army killed several people at the funeral of a leader of the People's Labour Party (EGP). Soldiers opened fire on a crowd of tens of thousands killing at least 20 and wounding several hundred. At least 400 people were arrested. Kurds in England and the Netherlands responded by attacking Turkish consulates there. In August the Turkish army carried out its largest ever offensive against Kurdish guerrillas in Northwest Kurdistan. This offensive was aimed at smashing the national liberation struggle that has been carried out mainly by the PKK/ARGK (political/military structure) since the

early 80's. On July 12th, 10 Dev Sol (a Turkish guerrilla group) fighters were murdered in Istanbul and another two were killed by Turkish police in Ankara. In retaliation for these murders, Dev Sol units in the Netherlands firebombed Turkish government offices in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.



cially socially acceptable in the former East Germany which is riddled with chauvinist slogans like "Now we are somebody, we are real Germans again!" It's a State policy which enforces racism and subtly aids fascism by building up an inhumane legal system which oppresses refugees and foreigners. The borders of affluent Western Europe are to be closed off to all those seeking to flee either the Three Continents or the ailing nations of Eastern Europe.

Women are the first to be fired when East German firms close their doors. Day nurseries are being closed down and women are losing their right to choose how many, if any, kids to have as West Germany's anti-abortion laws, paragraph 218, takes effect. Racism and the oppression of women are necessary to the Great German imperialist State because such hatreds lead to dissatisfaction, not against the system itself, but against those people in lower positions in the social hierarchy.

Fascist organizations likewise provide capitalist states with agents of terror, as illustrated by the bombing at the Oktoberfest in Munich (West Germany) and at the railway station in Bologna (Italy). The state also allows these groups to carry out deliberate attacks on progressives and left-wingers, attacks which led, for example, to the eviction of squatted houses in Frankfurt.

We see our action as an attack against one of the architects of the new Great Germany, an attack which hit this reactionary development at its roots. It's obvious, as German history has shown, that poverty, social decline, and massive unemployment do not by themselves lead to a mobilizations for human causes against the rulers of the State.

The dissatisfaction and disappointment of progressive people is channeled by the unions away from root causes. It is the main task of unions to prevent industrial actions from becoming political struggles which challenge the system as being the cause of miserable situations. Currently, union big-wigs have placed themselves at the front of the protest movements in the former East Germany with exactly this in mind. The fact that these leaders at one time considered stopping the Monday-night demonstrations (which led to the fall of the SED regime, and which could do the same to those in Bonn) is further evidence of this.

These people have termed our action a "political catastrophe" because they are afraid that the former East Germans might understand our motives. Waigel [Secretary of Finance - ed.] has threatened to halt corporate investments if strikes and demonstrations continue. And to further brain-wash the public and prevent them from attempting to comprehend our motives, this piece of human trash has also spread the rumor that we (the RAF) are but agents of the Stasi [former East German secret police - ed.].

We stated it before in our communique regarding the attack on Neusel [Secretary of State for Internal Affairs, wounded by RAF in June '90 - ed.]: all of us fighting to live our lives with dignity in a world free of rulers should roll up our sleeves and become a common force.

This is especially true today, a time in which imperialism is dealing blow after blow, forcing its New World Order down the throats of people here as well as in the Three Continents: the Gulf War, the development of the Great Germany, the repression against our imprisoned comrades, and the State's attempt to destroy the liberated spaces built up by people are all examples of this. A revolutionary movement needs to have the ability to arise wherever and whenever needed.

The only way by which we can imagine a development which will eventually tear this system down is by building up a counter-force by pushing through very material demands and goals, a counter-force which can impose the necessary changes on the imperialist system and which is able to liberate humanity in an extensive fight.

The revolutionary movement should become an actual and noticeable political force, actual and noticeable through creating, together, the ability to block essential developments and achieve real changes for the people. For us, that means that, in future, we will answer to any of the State's attacks on the development of our revolutionary counter-force, such as the brutal eviction of the Mainzerstrasse squats in East Berlin (Nov '90).

Beyond that, we think that it's important to be able to intervene in current conflicts with current demands, like, for example, our attack against the US embassy in Bonn (Feb '91), as well as with strategic attacks such as this one on Rohwedder.

We want to organize together with others to be able to work out militant campaigns in order to push through common aims. We feel that this can be done with all people who express as a daily reality the exploitative nature of capitalist society, and we encourage them to get organized with their own ideas and act accordingly.

The revolutionary movement must develop a real and concrete human perspective, thus making it attractive for everyone who feels this system is oppressive.

The sprout of a new society must emerge, one in which people start living together without rulers in a self-determined manner. But self-determination, to us, does not mean simply repeating the fact that there are numerous questions as to how to advance revolutionary development; self-determination means beginning to look for the answers as well. Everybody shares a common responsibility, that being to bring radical change forward, and everyone must be willing to deal with that responsibility. People who act for themselves can overcome the feeling of powerlessness that has been pushed upon them and turn themselves towards the real problems and begin finding solutions for them. This means not remaining on the ground whenever we feel defeated,

but to rise again and to start exploring new roads. Only in this way can a revolutionary movement achieve a continuity and an identity.

At present, we are acting in the wake of the defeat of the hungerstrike campaign of the political prisoners in '89, when, despite a mobilization more massive than any seen before, the State refused to give in and our comrades failed to achieve their demands. The real defeat for the Left wasn't so much the lack of power in the mobilization, but rather the fact that we gave up the goal we wanted to achieve, leaving our comrades with nothing but a sense of helplessness coming out of this experience.

It's a question of identity for every revolutionary movement in the world to look for ways to gain freedom for political prisoners. A revolutionary movement which doesn't care about its prisoners can't be revolutionary.

**THE ROAD TO FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS LEADS THROUGH ACHIEVING THEIR REGROUPMENT!
AGAINST THE FRONTAL ATTACK OF THE IMPERIALIST MACHINERY!
OUR GREATEST EFFORT TO BUILD UP REVOLUTIONARY COUNTER-FORCE!
LET US PUSH THROUGH THE PRECONDITIONS FOR A SELF-DETERMINED LIFE WITH HUMAN DIGNITY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REACTIONARY GREAT GERMAN AND WEST EUROPEAN PLANS TO EXPLOIT PEOPLE HERE AND IN THE THREE CONTINENTS!**

4,4,91

Red Army Fraction



Against A Europe Of The Rich: No Borders For All! For A Self-Determined Life!

For over 20 years now the Red Army Fraction (RAF) has waged armed struggle within Germany (and Europe as well) and in the course of this has had numerous members captured and imprisoned. The RAF prisoners have been subjected to severe repression from the German state which targets them as part of the counterinsurgency against the guerrilla. This repression has taken many forms with the most brutal being isolation/sensory deprivation in the form of the "Dead Wings" in Stammheim and other high-security prisons. This form of repression, also known as "iso-torture", consists of isolation from other prisoners in cells designed to achieve maximum sensory deprivation. During the last two decades the RAF prisoners have undertaken 9 hungerstrikes with the central demands being an end to iso-torture and being placed together in one or two large groups. Despite failing to achieve their main goals in the '89 hungerstrike (the 9th) they managed to get a number of small collectives formed in various prisons. One of these was in Köln-Ossendorf where Ingrid Jacobsmeier, Heidi Schulz, Christa Eckes and Sieglinde Hofmann were imprisoned. In June of this year they were accused by the BAW (Federal Prosecutor's Office) of an escape conspiracy which resulted in their transfer to another prison and the opening of an investigation against their lawyers. At the same time the BAW and BKA (Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau) initiated a renewed campaign of accusing the prisoners of directing RAF actions from their cells. We have translated and reprinted from the German autonomist paper *Agitare Bene* a letter from RAF prisoner Eva Haule (to her mother) and a letter from the RAF concerning these latest attempts by the German state against the guerrilla.



(L-R) Ingrid Jacobsmeier, Heidi Schulz, Christa Eckes, Sieglinde Hofmann

A Letter From The Red Army Fraction

AGAINST THE STATE'S LIES ABOUT THE "CELL PLANNING"
THE POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST NO LONGER BE USED AS HOSTAGES AGAINST US!

For a few weeks now, the federal government has been carrying out a campaign, designed by the reactionary elements in the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic parties - ed.], which has as its aim the total reversal of the very minimal gains of improvements in conditions and steps toward regroupment which were struggled after during the last hungerstrike campaign. The small collective in Ossendorf has been abolished. The criminalization of the lawyers is in full swing. There has even been talk of suspending visiting rights. The goal of all of this, in short, is to take captured guerrillas and political prisoners and to bury them alive in a concrete hell and to torture them in brutal isolation. With their hungerstrike in '89, the prisoners advanced a little ways toward their demand of regroupment. But even this minimal concession is now being over-turned, thanks to a propaganda campaign of lies from the State authorities. What they are trying to do with this campaign is to say that the hard struggle of the prisoners, and the wide support which this struggle had from both the resistance and from critical social groups, was not what resulted in, for example, the small collective in Ossendorf, but that this was all along a plan drafted by the State apparatus to break down the prisoners.

But the State could not succeed in falsifying the facts of history, because all of the various individuals and groups who had taken up the cause of prisoner regroupment and made it their own had not forgotten their reasons for doing so. They couldn't forget their reasons, because these were a result of their daily experiences with humiliation and oppression at the hands of the system - from this context, many people came to understand and act on the demands of the prisoners.

After various forces came together to work together with the prisoners during their hungerstrike campaign for regroupment, the State was not prepared to accept the fact the struggle of the political prisoners might be seen as a social reality and understood as such.

But '89 was also the year which saw an unprecedented growth in imperialism, both nationally and internationally, so much so that all conflicts could be settled with either the police or the military. This line, to just knock everything flat, has since then been pushed through: the annexation of East Germany, the murderous war against the Iraqi people, the prompt eviction of squatted houses, the complete lack of concern for the sufferings of millions of people in the former East Germany, State sponsorship of fascist attacks against

foreigners, refugees, and leftists, etc.

The prisoners, with their hungerstrike, were simply the first group confronted with this onslaught who could not press forward with their demands.

That's why this question, whether the State will be allowed to renew and escalate its attacks on the prisoners, or whether all those involved in '89 can make a renewed attempt to finally push through the demand of regroupment, takes on a new meaning during this period of the development of united, broad struggle here. Which brings up another problem, can we push through concrete questions so as to give these developments a human face, or is failure once again imminent?

One thing which always results in further repression against the prisoners is this: an action from us hits the State and its elites where it really hurts, such as the action against Rohwedder, and they respond by unleashing the full force of their anger and rage against our imprisoned comrades.

Fascist and reactionary regimes have a history of using prisoners as hostages against revolutionary and liberation struggles. The Nazis did this, just as Latin American military dictatorships do today, and even here

in Germany this tactic has been used for as long as captured combatants from the armed resistance have been held in captivity. But lately, the State has been using our actions as excuses to further wear down the prisoners, and they package all of this in propaganda which makes us seem like the cause for this State torture and brutality.

What they are basing all of this renewed terror and the escalation against the prisoners on is the notion of "cell planning" - a notion we would like to refute.

Our statement "The Actual Mission of the Prisoners" was cited in SPIEGEL, TAZ, WELT and other papers as evidence for the kidnapping-plan against a Volkswagen director. In any case, this display of stupidity should allow anyone to see completely through the State's lies. If the authorities had had an actual or even a very vague hint beforehand of which actions we were planning, then they would have build up some special force to either arrest us or gun a few of us down.

**Push Forward The Regroupment Demand!
Open The Way For The Freedom Of The Political Prisoners!
Solidarity With Our Comrades From Action Directe,
Who Are On Hungerstrike!**

23.6.91

Red Army Fraction

Excerpts From A Letter From Eva Haule

(...) They claim that we are "planning a new hungerstrike", most of it is based on this (before: "attacks are planned inside the cells" and so on). Of that point you could have said quite clearly: that it's not like that. On the contrary, it is our intention to find solutions in other ways.

But that does not mean that some of us have had (and have) thoughts along these lines - and one can simply respond to all the screeching: after all not only has nothing essential changed with respect to our conditions but things have by now even turned for the worse! Isolation again, and more of it, even more control and censorship are being debated. Four of us in Ossendorf (Heidi Schulz, Ingrid Jacobsmeier, Christa Eckes, Sieglinde Hoffman - ed.) are to be separated ("a decided matter and only a question of when", they say), and no longer whether we will be brought together or not. That is the situation - and the question is, what possibilities are there to turn this development around and achieve change for us.

Of course we're thinking about this - what else. But our thoughts have nothing to do with what the State Security is harping on about in the media. They are reflections by individuals, part of a process of discussion and of clearing up, no more and no less.

It is very clear, the BAW and BKA are using these

thoughts (although they would find other thoughts in the stack of papers they hauled off which go against a hungerstrike...but that is of no interest) to push the whole debate around the prisoners back to the police and secret service level. We only appear as objects in the newest anti-terrorist concept.

So there is nothing to it, no hungerstrike is being planned, but intense reflection on initiatives to politically turn the situation around and get closer to association. Exactly what they want to stifle and prevent - by any means. We are not "planning" any "kidnapping/liberation action" - we consider freedom as only being possible as the result of a concrete political development within the context of association.

One thing no longer figures at all in this campaign: what we, the prisoners started in '88 with the letters on "dialogue", then continued in the strike and afterwards attempted to initiate publicly - what we actually want - no longer figures in the whole empty screeching on "terror".

It is as if the developments of the last three years and the possibilities which came to light never existed, as if the 21 years of killer-incarceration never were.

They want to throw everything back behind the development we got going with our initiatives from 1988 onwards together with the solidarity of many

people outside and the willingness of social forces for a social debate.

Now everything is to be "illegal" and "terrorist" again, and correspondingly every statement made by us as well as the whole issue around prisoners is to be criminalized. This was obvious in the press after the "statements" made by Christian and Brigitte in Stammheim (during the trial of Suzanne Albrecht - ed.).

We didn't achieve our aim - the whole reactionary development of the last 2 years was too strong. (The FRG government and its reactionary euphoria can be seen in everything.) Now the old line against us is there again with all its consequences.

It's now gone so far that they are propagating against the Anglican church because they want to start a communications project with us. I think it is important to comprehend the situation as clearly as possible, so that we might even find a starting point. In some newspapers the new old line against us is being criticized, they say, "that is no way to achieve anything."

But it is not about that. The State wants to, by any means, prevent that debate with us/about us that is held on a political level.

The refusal to deal politically with the facts of the past 21 years is the reason and the core of the campaign against us and for the deadlocked situation - and not that the state really believes it will "achieve" anything in this way. And they claim to a thousand times. They have to; it's part of the package: in their thinking, ruled by arrogance and a craze for power, there can be no problem that they cannot "take care of" or at least manage with their apparatus. It must be such in Greater Germany. It is never a question of solutions, only a question of destruction and sustaining their positions.

And to do so, the apparatus takes command (BAW, BKA, VS) "dealing" with the problem that we present for them determined by their anti-terror strategies.

In this way politics are done away with and no longer takes place in the search for solutions - and even sensible debate is blocked, never mind solutions. But it is also the exact point at which the whole thing must be turned around to bring the debate back on the right track. On the political level - about us and facts!

There is no other way to get at it, we could for example correct the newest lies every week and that would be the end of it. Although I am also for doing this on some points; it can't stop there.... But I want to tell you something today on the latest "Terror-Cocktail" in the "Spiegel" because it's an example which shows exactly how they take sentences out of context and make wild allegations - at the end it's supposed to result in a logical chain of events. Like now the "proof" that we prisoners, that is, certain prisoners, have the RAF on a leash and decide when they should and should not do actions and all this very "concrete" of course, the '89 hungerstrike and Herrhausen.

Most of the stuff that they are using according to their needs and totally falsified is from the notes between Manuela (Happe, a RAF prisoner - ed.) and myself during the Stammheim period. We had found a way to

write notes there, hiding places everywhere in these high security machines - you know that we never met and could never really talk. But we wrote a lot of notes on everything of importance to us.

And the State Security know it now too, the notes are all originals from me and they were found at Manu's. They are using them to fish. One example: they quote from one of my notes in which the context of the statement is totally clear - it was about the joint text by the RAF and BR in the fall of 1988, and we talked about whether this meant that the western European front of the guerrilla was a "historical fact." Manuela had said: not without praxis. Now look at what they're doing with it! Simply "dot, dot, dot" at the points where the real context is apparent - and bang - they make it an "instruction" to the RAF to get on with a big action out of it.

Another point: Helmut Pohl and I were supposed to have determined that no action would take place during the hungerstrike - in fact I knew from lengthy discussions outside on this question after the hungerstrike of '85/85, that the RAF would not intervene militarily so long as there was some chance of regroupment and no prisoners had died. We decided this on the outside after the experiences of '84/85. Therefore I could also say to Manuela ("don't worry, you won't get snatched up"). But this has nothing to do with

Herrhausen or with other RAF actions. They could not possibly have found any "references" to these; there is no "planning structures in the cells."

The other ridiculous pieces of "evidence" mentioned in the articles speak for themselves - apparently our every thought, our every word is "terrorist." When we say "intervention" that simply means to intervene (in a concrete political situation, at least that how we understand it, with our own content) - they take this to mean "attack."

(...) We extend our thoughts to everyone, of course, also to everyone with whom we are fighting along side on the outside. We are political individuals with a specific history and politics - but we aren't a part of the guerrilla element, we don't "plan and direct" actions. But "if at all possible" the authorities have to "prove" something so as to delay the regroupment - then see what happens next week, see what face they will put on things.

During and after the '89 hungerstrike things were at such a crisis point that virtually every word from us inside was twisted around, "indications of renunciation and giving up" and now "planning structures in the cells" - whatever suits their needs. As for me I don't think I should say anything else. (...)

Revolutionary Cells Communique

On 11 June 91, we placed two incendiary devices inside the Berliner Reichstag [the building which housed the German parliament through World War II, and which is to house the parliament of the new, unified Germany - ed.], to thereby voice our opinion just a few days before the parliamentary debate concerning where to locate Germany's future seat of government. Contrary to what the press, the parties, and the Senate would have us believe, moving the capital to Berlin would not mean an increase in the standard of living for a majority of Berliners. Quite the contrary: we, those with low incomes, the unemployed, immigrants, shit workers, pensioners, and welfare recipients, will all be forced out of the city. Berlin is to become a Yuppie-City, where housing units costing 25 DM per square meter will be situated among administrative buildings, corporate headquarters, and the luxury apartments of government functionaries. We, the poor, must sit in our concrete boxes in Hellersdorf and Marzahn and watch as well-dressed yuppies cruise the streets in their expensive cars.

We don't stand to profit at all during any phase of the building-up period. It has been repeatedly discussed in government circles in Bonn how, for security reasons, West German construction firms will have to be employed, since East German firms are undoubtedly riddled with Stasi-people. And what do we stand to gain from housing the seat of government, other than the dubious 'honour' of once again being the 'rightful' capital of Great Germany? Nothing. And many people realize that it's foolish, at a time when the mood on the streets is more aggressive than it has been for quite some time, to attempt to construct a consensus among all Berliners, or to effect some sort of Berliner-Unity ("Choosing Bonn... A Slap in the Face of All Berliners" [newspaper headline in Berlin shortly before parliament debate - ed.]).

Without a doubt, many comparisons will be made in the coming days between our action and the lone deed of Marinus van der Lubbe in 1933, an act which gave the Nazis an excuse to declare a "State of Emergency" and to persecute thousands of dissidents. We consider this a foolish comparison. Just as 'real-existing' socialism is cited as evidence for the

impossibility of constructing a different and better society, some cite the Reichstag Fire of '33 as evidence that militant actions always bring fatal consequences.

But the contexts are very different. Neither are we on the verge of a fascist dictatorship (that is why one cannot attack a symbol of civil society, namely the parliament, without also creating as active a unity as possible against the Right), nor was our attack an act of individual desperation. On the contrary, from the discussions which resulted after the collapse of existing socialism, we saw a chance to develop a new, radical, and all-encompassing understanding of liberation, one which has nothing whatsoever to do with the bureaucratic regimes of Eastern Europe. Our actions are not expressions of blind rage or empty ideology as the press always likes to say. If we did not think that a free and collective society were possible, then we would have abandoned our struggle long ago.

One precondition for this is that we maintain some political ground and that we name and pursue concrete goals in actual discussions.

**WE WON'T BE DRIVEN OUT - NEVER AGAIN
BERLIN AS SEAT OF GOVERNMENT!
HISTORY HAS NOT ENDED - WE WILL
MAKE IT OURSELVES!**

Revolutionary Cells



Klein Attack continued...

premature detonation of the device was ruled out 100% - only the person who opened the letter was in any danger, as there was to be no shrapnel and no chance of fire. Through our own inaccuracy, however, we did not realize how immense the blast would be in the small enclosed room which was Klein's office.

**Against the Restructuring, the Capital City, and the Olympics Plans!
Organize Proletarian Resistance in the Neighbourhoods!
Solidarity with the Imprisoned Revolutionaries!
For Communism!**

A Letter From A Reader...

What follows is a letter from Italian political prisoner Anna Cotone, active in the guerrilla struggle in Italy until her capture. She is a member of the Wotta Sitta collective; a prison collective comprised of "comrades imprisoned in various special prisons coming from the different Italian guerrilla experiences: Red Brigades, NAP (Armed Proletarian Units), Red Brigades-Guerrilla Party, COLP (Communists Organized for Proletarian Liberation), Resistance." It is in response to our 'Gulf War' issue (#6)

Dear A.T.S.:

I have received the last issue of ATS, and I'm very impressed by the accurate choice of texts, as well as by the bulletin as a whole.

In my point of view, if you want to launch yourselves into the international revolutionary discussion, you are moving in the right direction, especially concerning the revolutionary debate here in Western Europe. In particular I found your editorial very interesting, because the experience of the mobilization against the Gulf War in the U.S. is very similar to the experience of the struggle here in Europe; there are many of the same questions.

Also in Italy, many peoples and groups of the antagonist movement, and many collectives and comrades of the resistance movement are feeling the need for an assessment of the praxis, the slogans, and the analysis which occurred during the mobilization here, and also about the various trends of the "anti-war movement". This assessment is necessary in order to find a clearer character for their own perspective, a class perspective. This means to make the connection between the struggle against state policy/capitalistic exploitation/repression in the western metropolis and the struggle supporting the third world liberation movements in the south of the world, in order to build not a vague "anti-war movement" but rather, an authentic anti-imperialist movement against the imperialist system and imperialist war.

The aim of these lines is to foster a broad discussion between various struggle's experiences on an international level. This discussion is important because the Gulf War has marked the beginning of a new stage in the international class struggle.

One of the effects of the war with regards to the class struggle on an international level (and here in Italy too) has been the increase in a politicization process in the western metropolis as well as among the masses in the south of the world (especially in the middle east), showing the subjective and objective connection between the struggle in the western countries and those struggles in the Tricontinent.

An Arab/Lebanese comrade has written me: "The imperialist aggression objectively puts the proletarian Arab, even the least politicized, in direct contact with the world-wide dimension of his enemy, as well as with his own prolonged potential as far as he is oppressed...and it should be underlined that it is very significant that a simple protest against Coca Cola (or something like that) somewhere in Italy, is criticized and interpreted the same day in the popular quarters of Amman, so that it will be the beginning of a riposte to the aggression.

In the western metropolis, as among the masses in the south of the world, the war is turned into a mass of class contradictions which are becoming more and more indivisible and antagonistic: every struggle is becoming more politicized and is grappling with the actual level of the confrontation.

But we have seen that the mobilizations of the western countries haven't been able to influence the balance of power, and they have been lacking both in connection with each other and in long-standing work.

We think that this is a result of the weakness of the entire struggle's class perspective, and of the struggle's inability to target imperialism.

The Gulf War has been a concrete expression of the new stage which is a result of the world-wide changes of the last years. After the changes in East/West relationships, the US is pushing its own role as international cop, in order to enforce its power onto the imperialist framework, because of its domestic economic crisis. Also, this push is aimed at stopping any advancing liberation movement and people's struggles in the south of the world. Any opposition coming from the south of the world against the forced "new order" is targeted by the US.

It is the beginning of a new long term stage wherein the balance of power between imperialism and liberation will change again and again.

In Italy the revolutionary movement is coming out of a difficult phase. One of the aims of the state during the 80's was the annihilation of the revolutionary movement, and the current situation is a result of this state led attack.

But there hasn't been only the offensive of the bourgeoisie. During the development of the capitalist restructuring and counter-revolutionary strategy, a deep-rooted opposition had arisen, with various people struggling in different areas: 1) the struggle of the immigrants coming from the south of the world; 2) the new mobilization of the "traditional" and new working class; and 3) the new politicization among students which has resulted in a large movement in the high-schools and universities.

Through the confrontations developing against capitalist and institutional strategies and against reformist policies and a repressive apparatus, new

struggles and oppositional consciousness are rising, along with the need for knowledge about the actual features of bourgeois power, i.e., the imperialist state and international capitalism in its new stage. Thus the crux of the matter is that the conditions to organizing oneself have changed. However, many people have not yet begun to work on how this growing opposition can affect imperialism and the state, and above all, people have not yet approached the class struggle as a whole.

We are aware that one of the main aims of the state in the last few years has been the destroying of revolutionary experiences, foundations, and principles which had been achieved in the confrontation between the guerrilla and the State; because these foundations and principles are the major factors determining how every struggle can oppose power.

There cannot be advances for any single struggle without the construction of a coalition of forces which will be able to break the balance of power, again. This is the main lesson resulting from the whole guerrilla's experience until now. If one really wants to advance, and if one doesn't want to lose what has been achieved up until this point, then what is necessary is a broad discussion concerning the building of the organization of the struggle which will be able to face this new stage in the long-term.

This entails paving the way for a new internationalism, urging on anti-imperialist struggle where there is fighting against imperialism, and enforcing the view of oneself as part of the world-wide revolutionary movement. Only by uniting and drawing together different experiences in one direction can there result a real advance in the revolutionary perspective.

Anna

RZ Attacks In Germany

The Revolutionären Zellen (Revolutionary Cells) burnt out a "Kaisers" supermarket in Berlin and a supermarket under construction in Ravensbrueck during the night of July 19/91. 1 million DM (\$750,000) damage was done. The attempt on "Kaiser's Supermarket" was a response of the RZ to the plans of the communal administration and the federal government of Brandenburg (ex-GDR) to construct a new supermarket complex on top of the lands of the former women's concentration camp Ravensbrueck. 90,000 women and children were tortured and murdered in Ravensbrueck during the Nazi-regime. Protest from all over the world followed concerning the construction of the market by using the infrastructure of the former concentration camp area, such as streets which were built by the prisoners. One day later the management of Kaisers announced the stopping of construction. In another action, the RZ's bombed the Immigration Division of the Provincial Administration building in the city of Böblingen. The attack on August 22/91 caused 500,000 DM (\$375,000) damage. We hope to have the communiques in our next issue.

Arm The Spirit is now being co-published with the U.S.-based Autonomie Forum. The editorial group is still based in Canada and all correspondence, subscriptions and literature should continue to be sent to the Canadian address. Subscriptions are still \$10 for 10 issues. Donations are always welcome. We accept cash (conceal it well) or money orders but no cheques. If sending a money order please do not put 'Arm The Spirit' just leave it blank.

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Red Brigades Trial In Italy

In the midst of enormous security arrangements the Court Of Appeals in Bologna on April 19, 1991, condemned to life in prison, 11 members of the BR-PCC (Red Brigades-Fighting Communist Party). In this manner the Ruffilli case has ended. This refers to the death of Christian democrat Senator Roberto Ruffilli, who was gunned down by unknown persons in Forlì, Italy, on April 16, 1989.

The court affirmed the sentences handed out by the lower court at the same time it issued a heavy sentence to another two militants who had been found innocent in the first stage of the judicial process.

In a separate development, Italy's President, Francesco Cossiga, announced his intention to pardon Renato Curcio, one of the founders of the Red Brigades. According to Cossiga: "A part of our history is over. The state is strong now. The state has defeated mass terrorism." Curcio, 49, was jailed on charges of subversion and instigating terrorism in 1976, and his sentence runs out in 2026.



Arm The Spirit is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work.

La Lucha Continua!